DISCONTENT

Int. Instituut
Soc. Geschiedenis
Amsterdam

"MOTHER OF PROGRESS"

VOLUME I. LAKEBAY, WASH., WEDNESDAY, MAY 11, 1898. NO. 1.

IDEAS AND CRITICISMS.

"Numquam," in the Clarion, of London, Eng., gives as his definition of Socialism "England for the English." Superficially this is not Socialism at all. But Blatchford cannot mean what he says. It is apparently patriotic, and patriotism has nothing to do with Socialism, for patriotism is too short sighted to see across a boundary line and observe the good in a fellow man of another country. Again, Blatchford refers to "ownership" and the "nation" in his definition of Socialism, but he does not state what necessity there is for ownership, though he admits himself a theoretical Communist, but he is not after a theory; he wants the bone, not a shadow; at least that is what I infer from his remark that Communism is too far off.

But why he thinks a nation is necessary and yet call himself a Socialist is too much for me. His cry of "England for the English" reminds me of the A. P. A. cry of "America for Americans," (the Know Nothing cry of 50 years ago). Taken literally, there is as much Socialism in the one as in the other—no more, no less. But it seems to me that "Numquam" really means to say "England for all the English, now for a few." He claims to desire to be as plain as to be understood. But if he meant what the general reader will understand him to mean his lesson in Socialism will prove a gloomy failure, he might as well sound the slogan "Death to the Irish!"

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"Colonel Ingersoll, who is sharp enough to know better, recently declared that Socialism would make every man the 'slave of government.' If order and regularity are emblems of servitude he is quite right."—Herbert N. Casson.

Yes, Ingersoll is "sharp enough to know better" than to speak of Socialism as he did without qualifying his meaning by saying he meant STATE Socialism.

In State Socialism "order and regularity" are undoubtedly emblems of servitude. The army and navy, as well as the merchant marine, of today are typical of what State Socialism will doubtless be.

What right has a soldier or sailor today? The former has a few rights, it is true, but very few, he is the menial of the officers. The sailor is today absolutely a slave. No matter on what foul slop he is fed, no matter how much he may be cursed by a drunken captain or mate he has no redress; more than this, if he dares protest he may be lashed to a ring in the hold of a vessel in the tropics, may have his back stripped and the lash applied, may be compelled to endure all manner of abuse—and the master is upheld by law.

If, driven to extremities by the inhumanities of the ship's officers, the seamen in defense of their very lives take possession of a ship, their lives may be declared forfeited by "government"—law and order—"order and regularity."

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Within the walls of Sing Sing and Joliet prisons order and regularity reign. Every inhabitant is well fed, well clothed and well housed; there is no danger of his being thrown upon the street while his sentence lasts, yet no man can deny that the prisoner is a slave. Is there any great difference between the slavery of the prisoner and the "coming slavery" of the voting citizen? If so, in what does it consist? Do "order and regularity" constitute freedom?

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H. N. Casson is one of the bright revolutionary writers of the day, but he is still in the embryonic stage. He mistakes wit and jeers for arguments. This is well evidenced in his "Red Light," recently issued. Here is a squib taken from a lot of similar trash:

"When Massachusetts was a wilderness the Indians were free to walk anywhere through the tangled underbrush and cross the bridgeless streams; today we are compelled to walk on smooth streets and roads."

Casson knows better than that. He knows that at Hazleton, Pa., men were killed to prevent their walking on roads that were in all probability not even smooth. That was an exceptional case, of course, but every day in various parts of America men are put in the chaingang for attempting to walk on these "smooth streets and roads.' The savage Indian's tangled underbrush, bridgeless streams and freedom were much better than the State Socialist civilization of hell.

Yes, men are compelled to travel the roads and in many places pay toll. Fences that hedge in private property restrain them from exercising the liberty to take a shorter route "across lots."

By all means let us have smooth streets and roads, but compel no man to use them. See the difference?

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Less "science" and more sense will have to be our war cry ere long if all the yappers in the country, who don't know a horse from a hen, keep on flooding us with "scientific" Socialism and "philosophical" Anarchy, destitute of all science and philosophy. If the great mogul has proclaimed it that makes it scientific in the eyes of all the little moguls. When the "leading light of Anarchy" declares anything to be philosophical it at once becomes the philosophy of the "lower lights."

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"Communism can't succeed. Seven communes in Australia have 'busted' and the former communists are rank Individualists. Equality is a dream. All men are not born equal and no law will make them so."

So says the San Francisco Bulletin, and it speaks truth from its own standpoint, but the standpoint is the standpoint of an ass.

Seven thousand communes may burst if they try to run by law and equalize all men's talents by statute, and yet the principle of association never be properly touched or drawn near to.

All men are not born equal. Only a rash idiot would contend that the talents of all are equal. Even the Bellamyists and other Statists are not such fools as to claim that. What is demanded by all advanced liberals is an equal chance to enjoy natural rights. There is only one way to secure this right: Abolish all protective legislation, for all such legislation is class legislation and discriminates against many in favor of a few. To balance up for this, another few get another law conceded to them. So equality of privileges ends and all inequality of artifice begins. Natural inequality always will exist. But is the "milk of human kindness" to be forever frozen into a solid mass? Is man forever to be a slave to crude nature that he dare not improve upon her raw material lest he blaspheme her sanctity?

"Give men liberty," or rather cease exploiting the liberty that is THEIRS OF RIGHT, and no law to enforce equality will be needed—none obeyed if adopted.

Must man rend and tear each other because the beasts and birds of prey do? Civilized man can make the land yield him a subsistence, he does not need to prey.

But give him elbow room. Tear down your legislative fences, enlarge his field of operations. Let him but co-operate with nature, and with his fellow man, and mold the crude article into the manufactured article, manufactured for USE, not for SALE.

Will civilization then retrograde? No! The way will then be open for it to advance, open for the first time in the world's history. Stand aside!

Gangway for manhood! A gibbet for all statutory enactments and a pedestal for humanity!

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There is one thing, however, for which the workers are indebted to the rich of the United States, and that is the stranging of liberty.—Coming Nation.

Give us less sentiment and more fact, Br'er Edwards. Do the rich men alone elect the lawmakers? Do rich men alone make the laws? Do the rich alone enforce the laws? Do the rich alone support church and state, the great crushers of liberty? Do the rich alone clamor for bloodshed when a victim is wanted for a sacred offering upon the altar of "law and order?" Do the rich batter down the jail doors and defy the laws they have themselves passed?

I might ask some questions nearer home—at Ruskin, for instance. You have two or three "beggars on horseback" in your own little village who have done, and are doing, all in their power to crush liberty in your colony! So well have they succeeded that your tongue is tied, your hand palsied, when you want to place before your readers your inmost thoughts.

Away with your puny catch phrases, come down to the bed rock of truth. The poor are as despotic as the rich the world over. Opportunity is all that is lacking. There are good rich men and bad poor men, and vice versa. The mere possession of wealth does not make the possessor vicious, nor does the lack of it make the pauper virtuous. Vice and brutality in the hovel will no more uplift humanity than it will if found in the palace.

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One able radical writer of the protesting press of this country while admitting the accuracy of the claims of materialism from a scientific standpoint contends that owing to the general atmosphere of superstition we need religion.

The question of "doing not unto others as ye would not that they should do unto you" is not one of religion, but of expediency. The question is not necessarily even a moral one.

That "he who lives by the sword must perish by the sword" may not be literally true, but such a person must be prepared to so perish.

If we would ourselves possess liberty we must concede others the right of possessing it, for when we abridge their rights we lay the basis for the destruction of our own rights.

If we would enjoy peace, prosperity and happiness we must help secure others in the enjoyment of these essentials.

Those who sow barbarism cannot expect to reap a harvest of aught else but the fruits of the seed they have sown.

So that policy, not morals nor religion, is the real need of the times. This policy will produce all the morals humanity has any need of.

The statement of Rousseau that "If there be no God the wicked man only reasons right—the good man is a mere fool" is open to contradiction. The "good man" may be wiser and more far-sighted than the "wicked man," he may be a philosopher and logician instead of being a fool.

F. A. COWELL.

San Francisco.

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Emma Goldman was recently in San Francisco, where she delivered a series of lectures. Comrade Klemencic engaged a hall and gave the S. L. P. folks notice of the first meeting, requesting them to make the announcement at their meetings, but, of course, they did not do so. Unable to answer Anarchist arguments they resort to government tactics, and so far as lies in their power suppress what they can't controvert. Force is their only answer for logic.

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Of all debts, men are least willing to pay taxes. What a satire is this on government! Everywhere they think they get their money's worth, except for these.—Emerson.

DISCONTENT.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AT LAKEBAY, WASH.

50 Cents a Year.

Address all communications to DISCONTENT, Lakebay, Wash. Make all money orders payable on Tacoma, Wash., to O. A. Verity.

GREETING.

Once more the New Era ventures to raise its head in the land of the lowly and proclaim its right to life and liberty. That it has been rechristened is a matter of small import, but as it has grown some while sleeping it might not be recognized by the old title, hence it has been given a new one.

DISCONTENT will, first of all, be an Anarchist paper, and will battle for the freedom of the human race from tyranny and superstition of all kinds and sorts. It will advocate communism as the ultimate ideal, as we believe mankind must have an ideal to strive for if they are to progress, and we can conceive of no higher ideal of existence than that to be secured by the consociated efforts of a band of brothers striving for the full freedom of all to enjoy life untrammeled by statutory enactments and deep-rooted prejudices fossilized by time.

Anarchy demands absolute individual sovereignity, the right of the humblest individual to hold and express his opinions, to live his own life and mind his own business; that no one shall assume to rule over any other or to attempt to compel others to conform to his ideas of what constitutes the best means of securing the general welfare.

Communism put in practice is but a recognition of the economic law which makes associated effort far more productive with the same expenditure of energy than isolated efforts can possibly be. The union of Anarchism and Communism, therefore, will give not only the best results economically, but will do the same politically.

But while we shall advocate Anarchist Communism we shall at all times be pleased to give space to arguments from all who are striving for the emancipation of society from the bondage of church and state.

Though the plans for securing a foothold upon an advanced plane may not always be such as we can indorse we shall try to give space to all contributions, as, if we cannot successfully combat any other proposed plan, then our own must possess a weakness either in itself or in its advocates, and we do not have the slightest desire to enact the role of suppressors of ideas. A tyrant calling himself an Anarchirt is as much a tyrant as any other, and, in addition to tyranny, he adds the baser element of hypocrisy.

We shall aim to make of our columns an open forum of liberal views, but we specially invite Anarchist writers to contribute to the work of spreading the Anarchist propaganda into every quarter of the world. The only restrictions placed upon the appearance of contributions to our columns will be those governed by space and the literary merit of the articles. They must be to the point and tolerably well written.

DISCONTENT.

Intelligence is not the highest attribute of man but justice. Intelligence is common to the brutes, but justice never.

SPAIN, QUEEN OF TORTURE.

Now that recent Spanish brutality in Cuba is exercising the American people a glance backward at the leaves of Spanish history may be interesting to our readers. This history is one of fanatical bloodthirstiness unrivaled by any other nation upon the face of the earth.

In times of war it is, of course, to be anticipated that among the peoples of the countries at variance animosities against those of the antagonistic nation will be easily aroused and national prejudices will magnify a foeman's misdeeds.

But Anarchy, knowing no national prejudice, having no country inclosed by hedge fences, can calmly weigh deeds in the balance of reason, place its finger on the political ulcer and say "There is the disorder of that nation and here the disease of this one."

The history of Spain is a long record of crimes even deeper than the crimes of nations generally. For centuries she has reveled in the blood of the thinker and the aspirant for an enlarged life. Progress has been to Spain an eyesore, something to be shunned, to be put away, even by violent means.

From 714 to 1492 she was engaged in reconquering her territory from the Mohammedans. This accomplished she had more time to make war against all human progress, to forge chains in behalf of the holy church. No religious belief (or unbelief) not comporting with that of the state church was tolerated for an instant. The crown of Spain even bowed in submission to the bishop's mitre.

Buckle, the world's great historian, has informed us that in Spain, as in no other country, two great evils have long existed—superstition and patriotism—until the minds of men as individuals have become impotent.

"A blind spirit of reverence, taking the form of an unworthy and ignominious submission to the crown and the church is the capital and essential vice of the Spanish people."

"No one inquired; no one doubted; the minds of men succumbed and were prostrate. While every other country was advancing Spain was receding."

Such was the result of yielding weakly to church and state, which, in Spain, have been in effect one and the same. Her wars have been wars of religious conquest for the past 12 centuries. While for eight centuries she fought for both religion and country in regaining her territory from invaders; no sooner was she successful than she turned at once to a policy of intolerant aggression which has continued down to the present time.

The termination of the war with Granada, late in the fifteenth century, was followed by an edict by Ferdinand and Isabella expelling from the country every Jew who refused to deny his faith. This was the beginning of the holy inquisition.

From that time forward Spain's policy has been to "make christians of the heretics, or, failing in that, to exterminate them." The favorite maxim of Phillip II. is said to have been: "It is better not to reign at all than to reign over heretics." He ordered that "every heretic who refused to recant should be burned. If the heretic did recant, some indulgence was granted; but, having once been tainted, he must die. Instead of being burned he was, therefore, to be executed."

And this inhumanity was indorsed by all of Spain, excepting only the heretics themselves. Eminent literateurs were officers of the inquisition, and in their wills enjoined upon their descendants that they should, if possible, enter the service of the inquisition, which was declared to be worthy of all veneration.

After the reduction of the last Mohammedan kingdom in Spain, late in the fifteenth century, the work of christianizing the Mohammedans left in the country was begun in a manner eminently characteristic of the Spanish. Some were tortured, others burned, all were threatened, until, in the year 1526, not an "unconverted" Mohammedan could be found in the confines of the kingdom. But as most of them were baptized by force the Spaniards wisely doubted the genuiness of their conversion. It then "became the business of the church to inquire into their sincerity." The Moriscoes (former Mohammedans) were ordered to abandon everything which could possibly remind them of their former religion; national customs, costumes, ceremonies, games, all were prohibited. They were forbidden to read, write, or even speak in the privacy of their homes, their native language. But even these restrictions were too tame.

Then began a most infamous chapter of history of a land already reeking with religious infamy. The archbishop of Valencia proposed that all Moriscoes should be exiled, except some who might be condemned to work in the mines of America as slaves, while others might be sent to the galleys. He proposed to exempt children under seven years of age. To this the archbishop of Toledo objected. It would result in contaminating the christian blood with a mixture of Mohammedan.

One powerful faction demanded that all Moriscoes should be slain by having their throats cut, "because it was impossible to tell which of them were christians at heart, and it was enough to leave the matter with God, who knew his own, and who would reward in the next world those who were really Catholics."

This advice was not fully accepted, but Buckle informs us that about 1,000,000 of Moriscoes were hunted out of the country like so many wild beasts, many being slain. In one expedition 140,000 of them were carried to Africa, over 100,000 of whom suffered death in its most frightful forms within a few months. All this was done with the sanction of Philip III. and to the glory of God.

* * *

Let us now turn to the Spain of today. It will be noticed that what is usually called to mind by references to the inquisition (the tortures) have barely been touched upon in this article. So, too, will we pass over the well known (?) atrocities in Cuba and the Philippines of today and turn to Spain itself for a glimpse of that country's present policy.

June 7, 1896, a bomb was thrown into a religious procession at Barcelona, Spain. The perpetrator of this deed has never been discovered. In default of this discovery the Spanish government arrested the entire membership (300 persons) of the Centro de Carreteros (Car Men's club), composed of workingmen of all shades of political belief—Republicans, Socialists, Anarchists, etc. All of them were charged with the crime, though but for the horror of the situation the charge would have been ludicrous since only two men committed the deed. Not the slightest proof has ever been adduced to connect a solitary member of the club with the act charged against all.

For eight months 170 of the suspects were held without trial or "interrogation"; 83 were tried; 12 were acquitted but not set free until the European press took the matter up; 9 were condemned to death, and the prosecutors demanded the death penalty for 28 more; 5 were shot, and the rest were condemned to imprisonment for terms ranging from 8 months to 20 years.

And these convictions were secured solely upon testimony wrung from the accused while under such torture as today can only be inflicted by a Spanish jailer. These witnesses, as soon as the torturers ceased their work, repudiated their "confessions," and, in the presence of death, only asked to be forgiven for having yielded to inhuman treatment and falsely accused themselves and their comrades.

The tortures practiced upon these men included flogging, compression of the head and of the testicles; belaboring the flesh on the throat and temples; keeping the victims running day after day without food, drink or rest; compelling them to go without food or drink for 8 days at a time, then feeding them on salt fish; their lips were burned with red-hot irons, "to make them talk"; their genital parts were mutilated with reeds and guitar strings, and their nails torn from their fingers.

These doings became known on the outside of the fortress where the victimes were confined (Montjuich) and were investigated by several well-known publishers, among them Henri Rochefort, of L'Intransigeant, so far as they could investigate, and the result of the investigations resulted in showing that all the tales of horror had not begun to approximate the terrible truth.

Scared by the exposure, the officials then brought before their victims this declaration, to be signed:

"I, the undersigned, formally declare that I have not been tortured or ill-treated by any of my warders; on the contrary, I have only to praise their conduct. For these reasons I declare the statements in the press to be lies."

All the victims refused to sign this infamous lying declaration though promised in consideration of such signature: (1) Grace of their life; (2) good wine; (3) good bread and good food until their acquittal which "would soon be ordered from Madrid." Then began again the tortures of the inquisition, but only one of the victims weakened under the test of fire, rack, scourge and thumbscrew, and he did not yield till, driven insane by torture in his terrible hunger and thirst, he ate and drank his own excrement. Then he confessed, and thus Spanish government triumphed.

All those who were so fortunate as to be acquitted were kept in close confinement for months that their wounds might not be displayed in proof of the deeds of the torturers.

Canovas, prime minister of Spain,

stood at the head of the Spanish government which, used to such work, refused to interfere in the cowardly work beneath the castle of Montjuich. Michele Angiolillo, a comrade of the victims of Spain's blind fury, avenged his comrades on the 8th of last August, sending Canovas to his grave, though his own death, of course, speedily followed.

Sagasta succeeded to the position of real chief of government of the only country on earth which seems proud of the title it has well earned—that of Queen of Torture.

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HAPPINESS.

The supreme end and aim of human life is happiness. The capacity for enjoyment, as well as for suffering, varies according to the refinement of the individual or the degree to which he has evolved; so also, according to his evolutionary grade, will be his mode of seeking happiness. The man who glories in his conquests in mortgages and in high rates of interest is reaching for happiness, but, if it does not elude him, it is on a very low plane of life, and is not to be compared to that of the humanitarian who gets his in the rebound from what he makes for others. It is refined and lasting, and there are many grades between the two. Man's spiritual nature seems to be the reverse of his physical nature in this respect: The more he gives the more he has left. The more people a man loves the stronger and purer is his love for each individual, and the kingdom of heaven will be over all the earth when man shall have outgrown envy, jealousy and all other petty and disagreeable traits that belong to a baby race.

The heaven for the race is away in the distant future, but each individual can make some heaven for himself right here and now; and the size of his heaven depends upon his earnestness and his wisdom in working for the happiness of others; I say his wisdom, for that is the greatest good a man can do to others, or the race, when he labors for the enlightenment of the human mind, thus showing individuals and nations how to throw off the shackles of all forms of superstition and to avail themselves of the inexhaustible supply of good things in great nature's store house and of the undreamed joys that await the race whose watchword is love.

We all have a right to be happy. It is ours for the taking, but it can only be taken as we seek the happiness of each and of all, remembering always that each individual must be left unobstructed in his own way of seeking happiness. The child should not be allowed to torture a helpless creature on the lower planes of life and the shrewd and cunning man should not be allowed to exploit his fellows.

The greatest cause of human misery today is the spirit of intoleration. If this one thing could be agreed upon throughout all the world—for everybody to cease meddling with the affairs of others, we would be a long way ahead of our present state of happiness.

C. L. PENHALLOW.

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Discontent is the parent of progress. Contentment implies stagnation. "I would rather be a discontented man than a satisfied hog" saith a Swedish proverb. The children of Israel would never have thrown off the yoke of Egyptian bondage had they stayed contented.—Free Lance.

IS "SIN" FORGIVEABLE?

Clinton Loveridge is always interesting, and on economic subjects generally sound. But in Free Society, of February 6, he makes a break," as he himself calls it. And it was a ridiculous "break." Says he: "Certainly sin is unforgivable; how can I forgive another's wrong doing? The sinner must forgive himself, that is to say, there is no redemption, saving always self-redemption." If I do you a "wrong," Mr. Loveridge, what is to prevent you from forgiving me? Of course "God" cannot forgive me, because I cannot injure "God." You can only do "wrong" to those capable of suffering, and you can only be forgiven by him who has suffered as a result of the "sin." Mr. Loveridge, I'm afraid, never read the little story told of the youthful escapade of Lord Palmerston, one of England's most famous prime ministers. It runs something like this (and, so far as the "moral" is concerned, it makes no difference whether it is true or not): During vacation Palmerston, with a schoolmate, was hunting on a private estate in England one day, when they were fortunate enough, owing to good markmanship, to kill a very small bird. With exultant glee they ran to pick it up: it was yet alive. But as the lads watched the dying agony of the little avain, felt the quivering of the flesh, saw the gasping for breath, and the final closing of the little eyes in eternal sleep, Palmerston was suddenly seized with an uncontrollable fit of remorse and began to weep most bitterly. His little companion tried to console him by telling him that God would forgive him for killing the little bird if he only prayed for forgiveness. "Yes," replied Palmerston, "I know the good people tells us that, but I wonder, I wonder, IF THIS LITTLE BIRD WILL EVER FORGIVE ME?" However, if Mr. Loveridge, in saying that "there is no redemption save self-redemption," means that the principle of equal freedom will teach each individual that it is to HIS OWN advantage not to commit an invasive act—the only "sin" which can be committed—then he is correct. For when men generally come to appreciate the advantages of equal freedom they will refrain from committing "sins."

Boston. WM. A. SMITH.

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PROF. HUXLEY ON ANARCHY.

Anarchy, as a term of political philosophy, must be taken only in its proper sense, which has nothing to do with disorder or crime, but denotes a state of society in which the rule of each individual by himself is the only government the legitimacy of which is recognized. In this sense, strict Anarchy may be the highest conceivable grade of perfection of social existence; for, if all men spontaneously did justice and loved mercy, it is plain that all swords might be advantageously turned into plowshares, and the occupation of judges and police would be gone.

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Profit, or material gain, is attainable only by construction or by discovery; not by exchange. Whenever material gain follows exchange, for every PLUS there is precisely equal MINUS.—Ruskin.

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If the crimes of men were exhibited with their suffering, the stage effect would sometimes be lost, and the audience would be inclined to approve where it was intended they should commiserate.—Thomas Payne.

THE MINORITY.

"Under Socialism what will you do with the minority?"

That is a question which has repeatedly been propounded to a State Socialist party organization by an Individualist friend. It took him seven years to get a direct answer. Then it came from the chair: "We would compel them to submit."

Had the question never been flatly answered that would still have remained the only logical answer any Statist could have honestly given whether he were Socialist or otherwise, for democratic government is based upon the "right" of the majority to coerce the minority.

What is this minority, this thing presumed unfit to guide its own footsteps; that must be protected and, against its volition, guarded, lest its interests suffer?

It is the most progressive element in the arena of thought, leader in the realm of ideas, tutor in the world of science, originator of all that is new, knight-errant of all progress.

Sometimes it errs, but it is no more prone to error than is that vast conservative herd which repels and combats all advance lest the idols of old be shattered. Indeed, it is far less inclined to error, as it utilizes all that is new, replacing faith with credulity, and until blind faith is supplanted by investigative credulity the world must stand still, progress cease.

Buckle, the historian, tells us that "Literature is the representative of intellect, which is progressive; government is the representative of order, which is stationary." In the political arena of a democracy, government is the majority's representative, while intellect represents the minority, which is subservient to government. Numbers rule, not Reason.

In all ages the enlightened minority has been the jest or the victim of the ignorant, intolerant, idol-worshiping majority. At the same time, though ridiculed or hated, it has held aloft the beacon light of Reason, illumining the dark caverns of the mind, serving as a guide to those who would find their way out into the open sunlight of common sense.

The desire to repress the minority is due to fear of the truth; error, shunning the light of reason, brings to its aid the bludgeon of force. If a thing cannot be answered then it must be suppressed. Such has been the unvarying policy of dominant retrogression whenever a new idea has been put forth. These tactics, it must be admitted, have not been used by the professedly conservative alone, but have frequently been employed by so-called liberals.

Suppression may avail for a time, but not forever. History has shown that causes which have thrived under persecution have often retrograded when let alone. Such was the case with protestantism in England after the edict of Nantes. With a relaxation of oppression its propaganda practically ceased and its numbers fell off. Yet in districts where it chanced to be in the majority it became, in its turn, despotic and oppressive.

As is too apt to be the case it, as a minority, was tolerant and liberal, but as a majority, Calvinism adopted intol-

(Continued on 4th page.)

THE FUTURE CITY.

Away above the mists and seeming,
Away beyond in splendor gleaming,
I see a city, fair;
Where calumny and persecution,
And all the forms of prostitution,
To enter will not dare.

Where man will come to know his brother,
Where love platonic 'twixt each other
Forevermore will flow;
There in that grander, purer light,
Where man will strive to do what's right,
From strength to strength we'll go.

Let onward, upward, be our banner,
While we are striving in a manner,
That goes the world to show
That, 'mid our smiling and our weeping
We're in the garden of Truth's keeping,
Where flowers of love do grow.

Let men like brothers be united,
So wrongs throughout the world be righted,
And strive to educate;
That in the dawning dispensation
The watchword of the reformation
Shall be—"Co-operate."

C. L. PENHALLOW.

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EQUAL FREEDOM IS ENOUGH.

I believe in freedom, yes; not any particular kind with a string tied to it, but absolute freedom without any attachments.—L. S. Oliver, in Free Society, February 6, 1898.

This sounds pretty; it is poetic. Mr. Oliver is a poet; but not all poets are thinkers. Poets, when children, love to hear the jingle of their toys; when full grown they love to hear the rhymial jingle of words. And so, in looking to the facts for wisdom, the reacher finds, even among the "great" poets, about 10 per cent wisdom and 90 per cent rot, absolute rot. But the world cannot get along without poets, so we must put up with them. Or, perhaps, Mr. Oliver thought he was holding up to ridicule those poor, benighted Anarchists who teach the doctrine of equal freedom as the only true basis of national politics. However, if Mr. Oliver will only come down out of the clouds, and put his feet on the ground for a few moments, I will tell him something, namely: That there is but one perfect concept of absolute freedom, and that is absolute isolation; and absolute isolation means death. If Mr. Oliver was the only man in the world he could be ABSOLUTELY free, simply because there would be no one to dispute his freedom. But if such a contingency should arise, I fear Mr. Oliver would survive the destruction of the rest of the species but a few brief moments. Consequently, Mr. Oliver, as long as there are other people in this world besides yourself, there will be always a string tied to your freedom; and if you attempt to cut the "string," that is, make a breach of equal freedom, you will meet with disaster. Equal freedom is enough, Mr. Oliver.

Boston. WM. A. SMITH.

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When I contemplate the natural dignity of man; when I feel (for nature has not been kind enough to (me to blunt my feelings) for the honor and happiness of its character, I become irritated at the attempt to govern mankind by force and fraud, as if they were all knaves and fools, and can scarcely avoid feeling disgust for those who are thus imposed upon.—Thomas Payne.

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All the unspeakable suffering we see, or which is hidden from sight about us, all the hears hunger of the people, both rich and poor, all the burdens of overwork and anxiety under which so many of us stagger and grow prematurely old, are the necessary results of rejecting the wisdom of love and grasping for individual good, looking out merely for ourselves as individuals or families.—Social Gospel.

THE PROBLEM SOLVED.

NO. I.

Yes, the labor question in all its grand outline of principles stands today SOLVED.

The solution is so clear, so logically certain, that it admits of no doubt in the mind of any unbiased, thinking man or women.

Not that the masses yet understand it or have at most but a faint conception of it. Not that even a majority of our able, but conservative, writers comprehend or acknowledge the solution, for we still hear their confident statements from the pulpit, press and rostrum that "the whole labor question is still in chaos."

Here, as in all other interests of human life, we are subject to the laws of intellectual and social growth; and while it is given to but a few favored minds to lead in the discovery and development of truth, the great body of the people, dwelling in poverty and dense ignorance, are slow to understand, and still slower to carry forward the new truth to practical realization.

All about us stand a host of people a thousand years behind the age, intellectual fossils, still arguing "that the world does not move."

And yet, I say, in the minds of the great thinkers who have lived and wrought during the last half century this greatest of all questions HAS been solved. Not that there is a general agreement as to definite methods to be pursued in the practical work of readjustment, but that their social ideal in its main features, in its FOUNDATION PRINCIPLES has been definitely settled, and stands today as the scientifically demonstrated law of an advanced social state, soon to be.

First, it points out the radical defects of the old industrial system, namely, the unjust methods of accumulating wealth through interest, rent and profit. Methods, for long ages, sanctioned by public opinion and enforced by the laws of the state.

Interest taking, for the use of money, has been, and still is, justified either on the plea that money naturally increases in value with its use, and, therefore, the owner is justly entitled to a part of this increase, or, that as money is a necessary means in the creation of wealth, the owner should be remunerated for its use.

Undoubtedly the great majority of our people today take this view of it, and, therefore, consider interest taking as morally just. And, as a result of this general but FALSE and PERNICIOUS opinion regarding the economic character of this practice, bankers and monied men have been permitted, by the people, to give form and character to our monetary systems, and to manipulate the circulating medium in their own interest, now expanding and now contracting it, thereby, at times, creating a very great and general demand for the use of money in order to loan to individuals and nations at high rates of interest, and so be enabled to live in luxury without useful labor, and at the expense of the industrious many.

For centuries this old system has affirmed the propriety and justice of personal property in land and other natural resources, thus enabling it to be accumulated in unlimited quantities in the hands of the few, who, without useful labor, have lived upon the proceeds of rent; that is, upon the unrequited labor of others; while millions of our fellowmen have been totally deprived of its occupancy and use, save by paying rent to legalized exploiters.

And, further, it has regarded it as equally sound in principle that a man may buy a horse today for $45, keep him over night, caring for and feeding him, costing $5 more, and then tomorrow sell him for $150 or $200.

And, generally, it has taught the doctrine that it is LEGITIMATE BUSINESS to buy at the lowest rates and sell at the highest, thus making all the profit "the traffic will bear" over and above all cost, no matter how much others might be wronged by such transactions.

With much artful sophistry it has also claimed that the capital used by labor in the creation of wealth was self-productive, and that, therefore, the owner was justly entitled to a part of the product that labor had wrought, which is absurdly and criminally ranking a man on the level of a machine (a thing) and demanding remuneration for its use as a laborer (a person) would for his services.

Now, the above is a plain, but adequate, statement of the fundamental principles of the old system of economics, a system that has for ages enriched and barbarized the few, ruined and debased the masses; that has blighted the hopes of millions of earth's noblest sons and daughters and swept all the great nations of the past into heaps of ruins.

E. C. MILES.

WAR TALKS.

"No privateering by the United States navy" was the promise sent out by the American government, and the very issue of the papers announcing it also reported the capture of a small Spanish merchant vessel. That may not have been privateering, but if not, then it was piracy on the high seas. In fact, United States Congressman Maguire, of California, declared in congress that it was piracy. The day following the first capture a war ship valiantly captured a poor little fishing schooner. Shades of Farragut and Paul Jones, what bravery! If the American navy keeps on it will yet bombard a deserted row boat. And all the fool patriots will howl with joy at the great news. It's funny how an official declaration of war, duly red-taped, changes piracy to respectability.

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Of course, the Yankee volunteer slogan is "Liberty." But we are forced to recall Mme. Roland's dying words: "Oh, Liberty, what crimes are committed in thy name!" "Liberty" is a mouth-filling word. American slaves keep their mouths so full with it that their brain box is wedged up too tight to work well.

A leading mercantile house in San Francisco has in its show window a wax figure of Liberty. At her feet is a card covered with colicky "potry" about the "boys from the Presidio marching by."

In three ways that is typical of all America.

First, all the liberty this country has is a "wax figger" of the genuine article, an Artemus Ward affair, with mighty poor wax at that.

And the patriotism is like the doggerel on the card, very yellow journalish.

And the whole store display is to inspire fool patriots with the idea that that particular store is the best place to empty your purse—a dollar-and-cents affair.

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America once possessed a certain degree of liberty, but that was before Spain wantonly, and with malice aforethought, inflicted rum and religion onto the country in the name of civilization. Then the noble red man lived and not all the good Indians were dead. There were no land sharks, no real estate thieves—ah—agents—no property laws whatever. Tecumseh's ancestors never dreamed of stealing land. That was a civilization dodge—a government affair.

Now that the "tin sojers" are off to the front it is feared poor Lo will revolt against peaceful slavery to his spoliators, as it is admitted that his past peace has been due to awe at the overpowering numbers of the blue-coat butchers. Of course, revolt will in the end prove suicidal to him, but there may still be some of the old blood of the "noble" in his veins which prompts him to death rather than slavery if he but stands a fighting chance. Who can blame him? Driven by money grabbers from coast to coast, forced to live within prescribed limitations, who that is a man would not revolt?

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On this war question I quite agree with Artemus Ward; I'm "willing to sacrifice all my wife's relations on the altar of my country," but I still lack not only the wife, as did Artemus, but I am also minus a country.

I think I shall compromise the matter by acting as war correspondent for DISCONTENT, though I can hardly hope to successfully compete with the "yaller kid" freaks of these latter days.

F. A. COWELL.

THE MINORITY.

(Continued from 31 page.)

erance and compulsion, resulting in as gross persecution as it had formerly struggled against. Calvin, the struggling protestor, became Calvin, the strangling persecutor of opinions.

As Buckle puts it: "They were not content to exercise their own religion unless they could also trouble the religion of others." This was also afterward precisely the case with the Puritans of New England, who, having fled from persecution, themselves burnt at the stake and drowned those who were so rash as to differ with them in opinion. Their change of attitude was the change from minority to majority.

As intelligence increases and mental force supersedes physical force as a factor in the affairs of men the minority, if right, will not long remain the minority, as new truths will not then, as now, have to "go begging" for supporters, or, I might say, old truths newly discovered.

"But what do we offer instead of majority rule as a cure for social ills?"

We ask the removal of the cause, when no cure will be needed. We ask for the natural right all men have—that of self-government, individual sovereignty; the right of each to be a law unto himself, without for an instant conceding that this carries with it a right to also be a law unto others or to encroach upon their rights. I quote again from Buckle, who sums up the results of the protective system in France, and gives this cause:

"They have had free governments which have not been stable; they have had stable governments which have not been free. Owing to their fearless temper, they have rebelled, and no doubt will continue to rebel, against so evil a condition. But it does not need the tongue of a prophet to tell that, for at least some generations, all such efforts must be unsuccessful. For men can never be free unless they are educated to freedom. And this is not the education which is to be found in schools, or gained from books; but it is that which consists in self-discipline, in self-reliance, and in self-government."

Let the minority breathe, give them the liberty to make the best use of their faculties, and you will have free men, with whom you may be proud to associate, proud to greet as neighbors.

Chain them to the will of the majority, coerce them, and you will have cringing slaves or brave rebels in whose presence your lives are unsafe.

F. A. COWELL.

MEETINGS AND HEADQUARTERS.

Social Science Club, Teer's hall, 61 E. 4th street, New York City. Free lectures and discussion in English every Wednesday evening at 8 o'clock.

Group Proletariat of New York City gives Anarchist lectures Fridays at 48-52 Orchard street and Saturdays at 21 Suffolk street.

The San Francisco (Cal.) Italian Anarchist Club meets every Saturday night at 111 Trenton street.

Anarchist Headquarters of San Francisco, 1274 Folsom street. Open every evening from 7 to 10 p. m.

Wendell Phillips Educational Club meets every Saturday at 8 p. m. at 31 Robinson street, Providence, R. I. Pamphlets in English, German, French, Jewish and Russian languages on hand.

The People's Union, a free discussion club, meets every Sunday evening at 935 Westminster street, Providence, R. I.

The New Generation, 605 South Third street, Philadelphia, Pa. Open every evening.

The Independent Educational Club meets every Sunday evening, at 7:30 o'clock, at 1327 South E street, Tacoma, Wash.

The Manhattan Liberal Club meets every Friday evening at 8 o'clock in the German Masonic temple, 224 E. 15th street, New York.

The Ohio Liberal Society meets every Sunday at 2:45 p. m., in G. A. R. hall, 35 West 6th street, Cincinnati.

The German Group, Chicago, meets every Friday, 8 p. m., at 655 Blue Island avenue.

The International Group, Chicago, meets every Thursday, 8 p. m., at 120 Bunker street, near Desplaines street. The object of the group is to spread radical literature.

The Independent Debating Club, St. Louis, 4th 12 Market street, room 7, meets every Thursday at 8 p. m.

The Equity Club meets every Sunday at 2 p. m. at 117 Turk street, San Francisco, for the discussion of all questions that may arise, especially the sex question. Free platform for everybody.

RADICAL PAPERS.

Progressive Thought and Dawn of Equity, Olathe, Kansas, is the oldest organ of the Labor Exchange movement. It is full of L. E. news and original articles, gives progressive ideas, co-operative facts and advocates the correct way out of hard times. Send for sample copy.

Lucifer: The Light Bearer. Weekly, 8 pages, $1 per year. Light on the sex question. This is humanity's greatest need. Address M. Harman, 1394 Congress street, Chicago.

The Adult, the journal of sex; 16 John street, Bedford row, London, W. C., England. 3d. Monthly. 4d. Post free.

Freedom, an Anarchist monthly, 35c per year. Address: 7 Lambs Conduit street, London, W. C., England.

Solidarity, an International Review of Anarchist Communism. A semi-monthly, 50 cts. a year. Address J. H. Edelman, 59 First street, New York city.

Free Society, an exponent of Anarchist Communism, 19 Oak Grove avenue, San Francisco.

THE ALTRUIST is a monthly paper, partly in phonetic spelling and devoted to common property, united labor, mutual assistance, and equal rights. It is issued by the Altruist Community, whose members hold all their property in common and decide their business affairs by their majority vote. 25 cents a year; ample copy free. Address A. Longley, 2819 Olive St., St. Louis, Mo.

Sturmvogel, 50 First street, New York City, an Anarchist Communist paper printed in German semi-monthly; 50 cents a year.

Freiheit, a German Anarchist weekly; price $2 a year. Address 317 Genesee street, Buffalo.

La Tribune Libre, a French Anarchist weekly; price $1 per year. Address: Charleroi, Pa.